2013

Politics
Abstracts

11th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs and Annual International Forum on Policy and Decision Making
17-20 June 2013, Athens, Greece

Edited by Gregory T. Papanikos

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Preface

This abstract book includes all the abstracts of the papers presented at the *11ᵗʰ Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs and Annual International Forum on Policy and Decision Making, 17-20 June 2013,* organized by the Athens Institute for Education and Research. In total there were 51 papers and 57 presenters, coming from 23 different countries (Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canda, Egypt, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Soudan, Thailand, The Netherlands, Turkey, UK, USA). The conference was organized into XIV sessions that included areas of Policy, African Government & Politics, Politics & Int'l Relations in the Middle East and other related disciplines. As it is the publication policy of the Institute, the papers presented in this conference will be considered for publication in one of the books of ATINER.

The Institute was established in 1995 as an independent academic organization with the mission to become a forum where academics and researchers from all over the world could meet in Athens and exchange ideas on their research and consider the future developments of their fields of study. Our mission is to make ATHENS a place where academics and researchers from all over the world meet to discuss the developments of their discipline and present their work. To serve this purpose, conferences are organized along the lines of well established and well defined scientific disciplines. In addition, interdisciplinary conferences are also organized because they serve the mission statement of the Institute. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 150 international conferences and has published over 100 books. Academically, the Institute is organized into four research divisions and nineteen research units. Each research unit organizes at least one annual conference and undertakes various small and large research projects.

I would like to thank all the participants, the members of the organizing and academic committee and most importantly the administration staff of ATINER for putting this conference together.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President

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FINAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM
11th Annual International Conference on Politics & International Affairs and Annual International Forum on Policy and Decision Making, 10-13 June 2013, Athens, Greece

PROGRAM
Conference Venue: Titania Hotel (52 Panepistimiou Avenue)

ORGANIZING AND SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

1. Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
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3. Dr. Nicholas Pappas, Vice-President of Academics, ATINER & Professor, Sam Houston University, USA.
4. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
5. Chrysoula Gitsoulis, Adjunct Assistant Professor, City College, City University of New York, USA.
6. Dr. George Kaloudis, Academic Member, ATINER & Professor, Rivier College, USA.
7. Dr. Viviane de Beaufort, Professor, ESSEC Business School, France.
8. Ms. Lila Skountridaki, Researcher, ATINER & Ph.D. Student, University of Strathclyde, U.K.
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10. Mr. Apostolos Kotsaspyrou, Researcher, ATINER.

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Fani Balaska, Stavroula Kiritsi, Eirini Lentzou, Konstantinos Manolidis, Katerina Maraki & Celia Sakka

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C O N F E R E N C E   P R O G R A M

(The time for each session includes at least 10 minutes coffee break)

<u>Monday 17 June 2013</u>
08:30-09:00 Registration
09:00-09:15 Welcome and Opening Remarks

- George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
- Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos, President, ATINER.
- Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.

09:15-10:30 Session I (Room A): Policy I **Chair:** Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.	**09:15-10:30 Session II (Room B): African Government & Politics** **Chair:** George Poulos, Vice-President of Research, ATINER & Emeritus Professor, University of South Africa, South Africa.
1. Auke Leen, Assistant Professor, Leiden University, the Netherlands. The Return of the Value Added Tax as an Own Resource to Finance the Budget of the European Union. (Policy) 2. *L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA. Has the Euro Harmed the Greek Economy? (Policy) 3. Daniel Boyle, Managing Director, Heuristic Strategies, LLC, USA. Democracy v. Capitalism: An Inquiry into the Role of Government in the Economy. (Policy) 4. Leon Schreiber, PhD Student, Freie Universitat Berlin, Germany. Institutions and Social Policy: The Case of the Child Support Grant in South Africa. (Policy)	1. Theodor Neethling, Professor, University of the Free State, South Africa. South Africa's Political Risk Profile in 2013: Reflections on Selected Indicators. 2. Dawne Curry, Assistant Professor, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA. Feminizing South African Proto-Nationalism: The Daughters of Africa and Their Litany of Social Service. 3. Seth Kumi, Head, UN Office, Northern Bahr el Ghazal State, South Sudan. The Politics of Exclusion and State Fragility in Africa: A Practitioner's Perspective.
10:30-12:00 Session III (Room A): Policy II **Chair:** *L. Jan Reid, President, Coast Economic Consulting, USA.	**10:30-12:00 Session IV (Room B): Politics & Int'l Relations in the Middle East** **Chair:** Dawne Curry, Assistant Professor, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA.
1. <u>Eduardo Haddad</u>, Professor, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil, Alexandre Porsse, Professor, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil & Paula Pereda, Professor, University of Sao Paulo, Brazil. Territorial Economic Impacts of Climate Anomalies in Brazil. (Policy) 2. <u>Fernando Salgueiro Perobelli</u>,	1. *Shak Hanish, Associate Professor, National University, USA. The Current Kurdish Iraqi Governments Relations: An Assessment. 2. *Sayed Khatab, Professor, Monash University, Australia. Arab Spring: The Crisis of Governability and the Impact on Arab-Israeli Dialogue. 3. Bartosz Bojarczyk, Assistant

Associate Professor, Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil, Romulo Villanova, Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil & Priscila Medeiros, Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil. Household Consumption and CO_2 Emissions in Brazil. (Policy)

3. Raoni Demnitz, Master Student, University of Oregon, USA. Donation Decisions to Environmental Causes. (Policy)

4. Alexandra Duarte, PhD Student and Teacher, CIES-IUL / ISCTE-IUL, Portugal. The Decision Making to Introduce Vocational Courses in Portuguese Secondary Public Schools. (Policy)

Professor, University of Maria Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin, Poland. Iran's Military Potency.

4. Julide Karakoc, Assistant Professor, Gedik University, Istanbul & Fulya Dogruel, Assistant Professor, Izmir University, Turkey. The Regional Repercussions of Turkey-Syria Relations.

5. Iman Hamdy, Editor and Adjunct Assistant Professor, The American University in Cairo, Egypt. Egyptian-Israeli Relations between Mubarak and the Muslim Brotherhood.

12:00 -13:30 Session V (Room A): International Relations Theory
Chair: Chrysoula Gitsoulis, Adjunct Assistant Professor, City College, City University of New York, USA.

12:00 -13:30 Session VI (Room B): Politics & Development in Asia
Chair: *Sayed Khatab, Professor, Monash University, Australia.

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1. Elaine Tan, PhD Student, Aberystwyth University, UK. African International Relations and the English School: Possible Engagements and Future Directions.

2. Anna Samson, Doctoral Researcher, The Australian National University, Australia. Just War, Saving Strangers or the Responsibility to Protect? The Case of the Kurds and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention.

3. Katarzyna Mojska, Assistant Professor, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Poland. Environmental Governance Institutionalisation in Transnational Space. The New Institutionalist Approach.

1. Greg Felker, Associate Professor, Willamette University, USA. State Leadership and Industrial Clusters in Southeast Asia.

2. Natthanan Kunnamas, Lecturer, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Region and Regionalization in East Asia: A Constructivist View. (Monday 17 June 2013)

3. Tirass Trintecha, PhD Student, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Process and the European Road towards East Asia.

13:30-14:30 Lunch

14:30-16:00 Session VII (Room A): Round Table on Roundtable on the European Union
Chair: Maurice Fraser, Professor, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK.

Speakers:
1. Dr. Ioannis Stivachtis, Head, Politics Research Unit, ATINER & Director, International Studies Program Virginia Tech - Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
2. Dr. James Headley, Senior Lecturer, University of Otago, New Zealand.

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3. Dr. Christianna Leahy, Dr. Christianna Nichols Leahy, Professor of Comparative Politics & Chair, Department of Political Science and International Studies, McDaniel College, USA.
4. Dr. Erika Thurner, Associate Professor, University of Innsbruck, Austria.
5. Dr. Auke Leen, Assistant Professor, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

16:00-17:30 Session VIII (Room A): Essays on Democracy
Chair: Daniel Boyle, Managing Director, Heuristic Strategies, LLC, USA.

1. Gayil Talshir, Head, Top Civil Service MA Program,School of Public Policy, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. From Social Protest to 'New Politics'? The Paradox of 'Public Will Formation' in Representative Democracy.
2. *Christianna Leahy, Professor, McDaniel College, USA. Third Wave Democratization in Greece and Portugal.
3. *Dorota Opyd, Ph.D. Student, University of Liverpool, UK. Political Under-Representation of Women: A Comparative Study between the UK and Poland.
4. Salamat Tabbasum, PhD Student, University of Cambridge, UK. Political Economy of US Aid to Pakistan: Democratization or Militarization?
5. Chrysoula Gitsoulis, Adjunct Assistant Professor, City College, City University of New York, USA. Direct Democracy vs. Representative Democracy.
6. Iuri Andreas Reblin, Professor, Faculdades EST, Brazil. Superman without Borders: The Controversial Renunciation of US-Citizenship and the Political Implications on It under the Perspective of the Narrative.

21:00-23:00 Greek Night and Dinner (Details during registration)
<u>**Tuesday 18 June 2013**</u>

08:30-10:30 Session IX (Room A): Human Rights & Humanitarian Intervention
Chair: <u>Nicholas Spina</u>, Assistant Professor, American University in Bulgaria, Bulgaria.

1. <u>Kenneth Christie</u>, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada & Robert Hanlon, Professor, Royal Roads University. Sustaining Human Rights and Responsibility: The United Nations Global Compact and Myanmar.
2. Deon Geldenhuys, Professor, University of Johannesburg, South Africa. The Prohibition of Persecution: A Regime Analysis.
3. Erika Thurner, Associate Professor, University of Innsbruck, Austria. Roma in Europe- A Persecuted or a Protected Minority?
4. Federico Zumpani, PhD Student, University of Palermo, Italy. International Law, War and Human Rights: The Humanitarian Response.
5. Kathlen Luana de Oliveira, PhD Student, Faculdades EST with sponsorship of CAPES, Brazil. Religion, Democracy and Human Rights: Thoughts since Latin American Theology.

10:30-12:00 Session X (Room A): Issues in International Governance & Political Economy **Chair:** *James Headley, Senior Lecturer, University of Otago, New Zealand.	**10:30-12:00 Session XI (Room B): Religion & Politics** **Chair:** <u>Kenneth Christie</u>, Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada.
1. Sevgi Sahin, Assistant Professor, Cag University, Turkey. Amending the TRIPS Agreement: A Counter-Hegemonic Struggle of Social	1. <u>Nicholas Spina</u>, Assistant Professor, American University in Bulgaria, Bulgaria. Social Tolerance in Eastern Europe: The Role of the Orthodox

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Forces. (Tuesday 18 June 2013)

2. Anne-Claire Marangoni, PhD Candidate, Maastricht University, The Netherlands. The 2012 Revision of the Generalised System of Preferences: Articulating trade, Development and Foreign Policy Objectives.

3. Katarzyna Romanczyk, PhD Student, Jagiellonian University, Poland. On the Role of Multilevel Governance in Brussels' Development.

4. *Rose Kastiro, Ph.D. Student, Ritsumeikan University Kyoto, Japan. Impact of Geopolitics of Climate Change Perceptions on Patents Law and Technology Transfer to African States.

5. Benjamin Tkach, Graduate Assistant Researcher, Texas A&M University Qatar, Qatar, Phillip Gray, Visiting Assistant Professor, Texas A&M University Qatar, Qatar & Hassan Bashir, Assistant Professor, Texas A&M University Qatar, Qatar. Democratic Norms: Conflict Decision Making Following Regime Change in Pakistan's International Conflict Behavior 1947-2000. (Policy)

Church and Socioeconomic Development. (Tuesday 18th of June 2013)

2. Fabio Augusto Darius, PhD Student, Faculdades EST with sponsorship of CAPES, Brazil. Religion and Politics in Brazil: A Case Study from the Point of View and Influence of American Religions.

3. Eneida Jacobsen, PhD Student, Faculdades EST, Brazil. Religion in the Political Public Sphere: The Democratic Potential of Faith-Based Arguments in Public Discussion and Deliberation.

4. Alexandra Frankel, PhD Student, Bilkent University, Turkey. Contested Perspectives of Religious Practices in the Public Sphere: The Case of a Public University in Turkey.

12:00 -13:30 Session XII (Room A): Elections & Electoral Processes
Chair: Deon Geldenhuys, Professor, University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

12:00-13:30 Session XIII (Room B): European Union: Economics & External Relations
Chair: *Shak Hanish, Associate Professor, National University, USA.

1. Paul Herrnson, Director, University of Maryland, USA, Clair Smith, Director, Overseas Vote Foundation, Germany, Ho Youn Koh, PhD Student, University of Maryland, USA & Michael Hanmer, Director, University of Maryland, USA. Measures that Increase Overseas Absentee Voting.

2. Baodong Liu, Director of Ethnic Studies Program, Associate Professor of Political Science, The University of Utah, USA. Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections.

1. *James Headley, Senior Lecturer, University of Otago, New Zealand. Still Leading by Virtuous Example? Virtue Ethics and the EU in a Time of Crisis.

2. Giulia Pastorella, PhD Candidate, London School of Economics, UK. Technocratic Governments during the Eurocrisis: Nothing New Under the Sun?

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3. *Erin O'Brien, Associate Professor, University of Massachusetts Boston, USA. All Debt Isn't Equal: The Political Ramifications of Student Loan Debt Differentially Accrued.	

13:30-14:30 Lunch

14:30-16:00 Session XIV (Room A): Open Session on Politics and International Affairs II
Chair: Paul Herrnson, Director, University of Maryland, USA

1. Seung-Won Song, Assistant Professor, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea. The Changes in the Status and Power of the Butonese Aristocracy Classes in History in Indonesia.
2. Emanuel Coman, Researcher, University of Oxford, UK. The Economic Left-Right in Western Europe.
3. Ezequiel Souza, PhD Student, Escola Superior de Teologia, Brazil. Theology as a Political Commitment from the Liberation Theology in Latin America: An Approach to the Contribution of Leonardo Boff.
4. Rita Duca, Post Doctoral Researcher, University of Palermo, Italy. Family Reunification: the Case of the Muslim Migrant Children in Europe.

17:30-20:30 Urban Walk (Details during registration)

21:00- 22:00 Dinner (Details during registration)

Wednesday 19 June 2013
Cruise: (Details during registration)
Thursday 20 June 2013
Delphi Visit: (Details during registration)

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Politics & International Affairs

Bartosz Bojarczyk
Assistant Professor, University of Maria Curie-Sklodowska in Lublin, Poland

Iran's Military Potency

Nowadays, there is a huge disagreement over Iranian nuclear programme in international system. Iran is accused, mainly by the United States, other Western powers and Israel, of developing nuclear weapon of mass destruction what brings the possible military conflict into global agenda. The political conflict has evaluated and led to economical isolation of Iran when the USA and European Union states decided to put very harsh sanctions onto it. The economical sanctions (especially related to oil industry) are hurting Iranian economical system and may led to the escalation of the conflict. Description of Iran's military potency and analyzes of its capabilities on that level may help us to determine realistic answer to possible attack. Longstanding isolation made Iran quite effective in domestic production of arms, not only typical one. Iran is quite advanced in the ballistic missiles programme what with the desire to obtain nuclear bomb would make him strong military power. Iran's military potency is one of the main challenges in international system and stopping its nuclear programme by using the force may lead not only to conflict in Iran but it also may spread into whole region.

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Kenneth Christie
Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada
Robert Hanlon
Professor, Royal Roads University, Canada

Sustaining Human Rights and Responsibility: The United Nations Global Compact and Myanmar Human Rights and Corporate Social Responsibility are not two concepts/perspectives that come to mind when dealing with Myanmar, one of the longest standing pariah states in Southeast Asia. Beginning in 2012 however, the country has made some determined efforts to promote liberal economic and political reforms in an effort to modernise and open itself to the world.

In May 2012, UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon successfully launched the United Nations Global Compact (UNGC) in Myanmar. The initiative was endorsed by fifteen prominent Burmese business leaders who voiced their commitment to uphold the core principles of the Compact. The UNGCs appeal within the Myanmar context is important considering its established reputation as an influential voluntary governance regime. With over 8700 signatories worldwide, the UNGC is a popular initiative for business actors seeking to promote corporate social responsibility; however, the scheme is frequently criticised for elitism and its inability to monitor and enforce the principles upon its members. It has been referred to as a 'toothless' mechanism and little more than a sophisticated public relations platform for industry. This paper argues that despite its weakness, the UNGC has the potential to be an effective initiative for promoting ethical business in Myanmar. Drawing on constructivist theory, this paper frames the Compact as a transformative mechanism that incorporates the language of human rights and ethics into corporate and local business practices. These research findings are based on a series of interviews conducted from May 2012. Preliminary results suggest that the UNGC's launch in Burma is opening new space for ethical investors and the promotion of human rights standards in corporate and political governance.

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Emanuel Coman
Researcher, University of Oxford, UK

The Economic Left-Right in Western Europe

We argue that the emergence of the economic left-right as a principal dimension of conflict in Western Europe constitutes a unique historical development, not likely to be replicated in new democracies. It is the result of a sequence of enfranchisement, which culminated to the enfranchisement of workers, the largest social category of voters at the time. We exemplify this with the help of the new democracies in CEE. Because the Communist regimes suppressed the organization of interest into meso- level institutions, when parties in CEE appeared more or less overnight in the early nineties they had more liberty to frame the political debate. They chose to emphasize valence issues that brought votes from an electorate not very familiar with capitalist economic issues, and dissatisfied with the economic left as well as the capitalist economic reform. In time these issues have become entrenched and now form a stable principal dimension of conflict. Our findings are derived with the help of an original dataset of 24,000 roll-call votes taken in the second part of the past decade in 22 parliaments from Western and Eastern Europe, as well as the Chapel Hill Survey and the Party Manifesto Project data. We apply the OC vote scaling method to 24,000 votes, and find that the first dimension is the economic left-right in Western Europe and the social left-right in Eastern Europe. Based on these findings we emphasize some consequences for the study of parties in CEE as well as other new democracies.

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Dawne Curry
Assistant Professor, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA

Feminizing South African Proto-Nationalism: The Daughters of Africa and Their Litany of Social Service

In 1930, a "small woman with a plain, squashed little face that could at any moment burst into laughter or a loud command" had returned to her native South Africa. Lilian Tshabalala had spent eighteen years on American soil. While in the United States, Tshabalala engaged in social work at local African American churches in Hartford, Connecticut. She also participated in the annual Chautauqua conferences in upstate New York. These religious-based meetings hosted women from India, China, and Japan among other nations across the world. It was the 1927 event that affected Tshabalala most profoundly. For the first time, she understood the meaning behind the phrase "Unity is Strength." To explain her epiphany, Tshabalala compared worldwide systems of segregation and openly criticized America's hypocrisy. She wrote, "The Orient could not very well understand Christian workers coming from a country where human beings like Negroes are still lynched and burned at the stakes; . . . She further questioned how Americans could profess and export ideas of human equality when skeletons filled their racial closets. Her South African homeland was no different. Its officials were bent on entrenching and racializing the legal, social, and political landscape, under which Africans lived. After observing how segregation had annihilated African psyches and created inferiority complexes, Tshabalala confessed before a Pimville, Soweto audience that upon her return, she found her nation suffering and drying up like a piece of corn that had been cooked too long. Tshabalala knew then that she had to restore the African nation she so fondly cherished. In 1931, she formed the women's political group, the Daughters of Africa, and in subsequent years, she established the Women's Brigade and the African Democratic Party (ADP) and further emblazoned her stamp on African political culture.This paper addresses the following: how Tshabalala used her American experience abroad to frame and to analyze her observations of South African life and women's roles in it; how the Daughters of Africa created their own blend of feminist-nationalism, and how they formed intellectual and cultural diasporas within South Africa through the many branches that dotted the landscape throughout the country. I argue that women created

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alternate, parallel and convergent political spaces to discuss and
enhance the role of womanhood during a time when segregation ruled
South Africa and the patriarchal constraints that defined it.

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Fabio Augusto Darius
PhD Student, Faculdades EST with sponsorship of CAPES, Brazil

Religion and Politics in Brazil: A Case Study from the Point of View and Influence of American Religions

The Brazilian Census of 2010, besides showing the decline of Catholicism in the country, revealed a large increase of an "original" Protestantism of the United States, primarily the Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. The two groups, founded in the nineteenth century - the Jehovah's Witnesses are a dissidence of the Seventh-day Adventism - boast more than 3 million active members - the majority of the middle class - and have particular political characteristics. It highlights, among them, exemption from military conscription and especially little or no political activity. In many of her thousands of handwritten pages, Ellen Gould Harmon White, co-founder of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, advised the members of the Church about the danger of political involvement in the spiritual life. In addition, she advocated the total separation of church and state, highlighting the misdeeds of their union from the Middle Ages to the present day. However, although Brazil is a secular state, the church's influence on society is enormous - both Catholics and Protestants. The intention of this paper is, from texts on conceptual policy of its founders, to analyze the performance of these political groups in Brazil, sensing approaches and breakthroughs in relation to American theology.

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Kathlen Luana de Oliveira
PhD Student, Faculdades EST with sponsorship of CAPES, Brazil

Religion, Democracy and Human Rights: Thoughts since Latin American Theology

Among paralyzing, enthusiastic, militants, skeptical attitudes in the Brazilian contemporary human rights have added emancipatory struggles, claims of justice, equality, security, citizenship, protests against any kind of violence, prejudice or degradation of life. Social movements, government policies and actions, academic research converge on the direction of human rights, especially in the period of democratization in Brazil which extends to the present day. The theological term used by Bobbio, in his book The Age of Rights (2004), stating that human rights emerge as "signs of the times", may be a hermeneutic tool of the present moment. Signs of the times come amid increased awareness about these rights (an age of rights) and, at the same time, multiply the violation of them, causing a feeling of disintegration of the human condition. And in that context, without assuming apologetic attitudes, it is worth to identify how theology and religions are linked to the promotion of human rights. Of course, the memories of oppression, intolerance, colonial conquest cannot be forgotten. However, based on the ambiguity of religion, there is the understanding that Latin American societies and the possibilities of construction of democratic law cannot dispense the study of religions and theologies. Thus, this paper aims to reflect on challenges and intersections between theology and human rights, specifically in the Latin American context. And, with this combination, which does not ignore specificities, between theology and human rights can be an indication of hope and resistance. Therefore, the persistent search for liberation falls in the trajectories of Liberation Theology, whose announcing-denouncing task demonstrates to be relevant and necessary to the current context.

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Rita Duca
Post Doctoral Researcher, University of Palermo, Italy

Family Reunification: The Case of the Muslim Migrant Children in Europe

Adopting a child is not a legal concept recognized in Islamic law, who however giving a great importance to orphans and children's rights, has introduced the legal institute of the "Kafala".

This institute can be defined as a commitment by the "kafil" to ensure maintenance, education and protection of a minor "makfoul" until his legal majority, in the same way as would a father to his son, but without creating any family relationship.

For these reasons the "Kafala" can not be compared to an international adoption, which, contrariwise, entails the creation of a parent-child relationship.

If, in one side the Kafala is a legal concept recognized by International Law, in particular by the United Nations Convention of 20 November 1989 on the Rights of the Child, which recognizes the Muslim institute of the Kafala in the article 20 as a means of protection of the children. On the other hand, the Kafala is excluded by the Hague Convention of 29 May 1993 on Protection of Children and Cooperation in Respect of Inter-country Adoption.

The aim of this paper is to understand how, in a society increasingly multicultural, the Kafala could be reconciled in Europe, in particular analyzing the EU 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification, that ignored this Muslim institute.

In the second part, the paper will analyze the most important judgments in the Italian, French and English legal systems in order to highlight how in these three European countries the solutions adopted in relation to the Kafala have been completely different.

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Greg Felker
Associate Professor, Willamette University, USA

State Leadership and Industrial Clusters in Southeast Asia

The concept of "industrial clusters" has powerfully shaped thinking about the sources of economic competitiveness in an era of globalization. Clusters are agglomerations of firms, business service providers, technical support agencies, and sources of skilled human capital, that coordinate investments in meeting the demands of global market competition. Clusters are often seen as displacing the historic role of national governments in promoting economic growth, because they encourage decentralized entrepreneurship and are governed through flexible linkages among firms and supporting institutions. In developing countries, however, national governments remain key actors because, by definition, the core challenge is to stimulate new clusters where they have not emerged spontaneously. Neo-liberal policy prescriptions, under the rubric of the "post-Washington Consensus", admit the need for policy intervention but insist that governments must only seek to create general "infrastructural" conditions for private initiative, rather than strategically targeting specific industries or industry segments, and secondly that government's role must decline as clusters mature and become more innovation-driven. In Southeast Asia, however, cluster policies have involved more sustained, strategic government intervention, particularly in Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand. These policies have met with mixed success among the three countries and across particular sectors. Does this variation reflect governments' adherence to the "post-Washington Consensus" view of the appropriate government role in cluster development? This paper compares cluster policy initiatives in these three countries, drawing on case studies in four globally-integrated industrial sectors: electronics, information technology, automotives, and aerospace. It tests the hypothesis that the government's role in cluster-building has become more strategic over time. In the case of Southeast Asia's industrialization trajectory, the key dynamic in cluster development has not been responsiveness to local entrepreneurship and diminishing state guidance. Rather, cluster development has varied according to strategic bargains struck between national host-country states and foreign transnational corporations.

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Alexandra Frankel
PhD Student, Bilkent University, Turkey

**Contested Perspectives of Religious Practices in the Public Sphere:
The Case of a Public University in Turkey**

This study explores how the state simultaneously legitimizes and delegitimizes religious practices of citizens within the context of the Republic of Turkey in the post 1980 period. In 2010, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan lifted the ban that had forbidden women from entering public university campuses wearing the headscarf. The headscarf has been a radically divisive symbol since the founding of the Turkish Republic, which disassembled Ottoman prescriptions of appropriate means through which citizens ought to inhabit public and private spheres. This designation between public and private space has largely been realized through women's dress and appearance, an axiomatic trope used to distinguish the new republic from its Ottoman past. However, the controversy over the headscarf is not only fueled by its problematization of 'modernity' and the public sphere, but also by the rise of political Islam. When students were granted the right to attend university wearing the headscarf, instructors, faculty members, professors, and other staff were not. This study examines the case of a public university in central Anatolia that established prayer rooms for its staff following the abolition of the headscarf ban. Qualitative research inspired by ethnographic methods such as participant observation as well as first hand accounts chronicling the establishment of these prayer rooms are planned to be used. This study will thus unpack the unique politicizations of state employees and students in the Turkish context to understand why the state permits, and therefore legitimizes, the use of the headscarf for one group, but not for the other. The author hypothesizes that these disparate politicizations are integral elements of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's conceptualization of educators as the protectors of the Republic itself as well as shifting alliances and conceptualizations of who composes civil society and the state.

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The Prohibition of Persecution: A Regime Analysis

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines persecution as 'the intentional and severe deprivation of fundamental rights' of any identifiable group on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or other grounds. As one of the crimes against humanity, persecution has been a punishable offence under international law ever since the Nuremberg trials.

Persecution, like the other crimes against humanity (murder, extermination, enslavement, torture, enforced disappearance, etc.), as well as genocide and war crimes, constitute grave human rights abuses or mass atrocities. All these offences challenge the international human rights regime that developed in the wake of the Second World War. Taking its cue from international law, the regime is supposed to prohibit and punish such practices. The international human rights regime therefore has a subsidiary prohibition regime designed to deal with atrocity crimes. However, the identity-based crime of persecution (like other gross human rights violations) is still being committed by states against their own populations.

The offence of persecution is singled out for investigation in the proposed paper. Persecution merits separate attention because it has been so widely practised by states since 1945. Only actual instances of persecution on political, racial, ethnic/cultural grounds will be considered; religion- and gender-based persecution is excluded. The period from 1960 to 2010 will be covered, focusing on the nature of the persecution inflicted by states on their people, and on the kinds of international reaction thereto. It is, in short, an inquiry into the workings of the international human rights regime, specifically its ability to enforce the prohibition of persecution.

Apartheid South Africa serves as benchmark case study; other cases selected include Indonesia and Tibet (1960s), Israel and Uganda (1970s), Iraq and Guatemala (1980s), Croatia and Rwanda (1990s), and Sri Lanka and Sudan (Darfur) (early 2000s).

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Direct Democracy vs. Representative Democracy

Democratic theorists have identified participation as a leading characteristic of an ideal <u>democracy</u>. In a <u>direct democracy</u>, participation takes the form of <u>deliberation</u>: a rational discussion where all members of a population debate laws directly (rather than indirectly through elected officials), and they all have an equal chance of having their views taken into account. Ancient Athens invented this form of government: the citizens, through the assembly, council of 500, and law courts, controlled the entire political process. This was possible because Athens had a total male citizen population of roughly 40,000. With a small population, the citizens were able to gather together and debate laws directly in large open spaces. In today's overpopulated world, democracies take the form of <u>representative democracies</u>, where elected representatives debate and pass (all or most) laws. This paper will highlight some of the virtues and shortcomings of direct and representative democracies, and offer some suggestions on how these systems can be improved upon, by returning to the model of Athenian direct democracy.

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Egyptian-Israeli Relations between Mubarak and the Muslim Brotherhood

Egyptian-Israeli relations are not merely bi-lateral relations between two countries. Rather, they reflect several complexities related to broader regional issues. When Sadat and Begin signed the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979, they had a clear and simple formula: trading land for peace. Peace here meant full 'normalized' relations between the two countries. Although the Arab-Israeli conflict was not yet resolved, politicians on both sides had the hope that this normalization process would contribute to achieving comprehensive peace in the region and develop with time to become an active interaction between two neighboring peoples rather than being an artificial relationship between states.

However, the failure of the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians and the continuous Israeli aggression against the Palestinians and Lebanon have nourished public anger in Egypt against Israel and drove large sectors to demand severing Egyptian-Israeli ties. In the past two decades, the Mubarak regime was accused of yielding to US pressure and strengthening its ties with Israel despite public resentment. On the other hand, the Muslim Brotherhood had presented itself as the champion of the Palestinian cause and called for annulling the peace treaty or at least subjecting it to public referendum for approval or rejection.

Little after the January 2011 uprisings, some of the Egyptians attacked the Israeli embassy and it was clear that Egyptian-Israeli relations would take a different turn from the of the Mubarak era. That feeling grew as the Muslim Brotherhood came to power. But have things really changed? If they have, to what extent?

These are the questions that the paper will attempt to answer by examining the post-January 2011 Egyptian-Israeli relations especially during the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood, and comparing them with those that prevailed during the Mubarak era and analyzing the variables that determine these relations.

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The Current Kurdish Iraqi Governments Relations: An Assessment

In my paper, I will discuss the current problem between the Iraqi central government in Baghdad and the Iraqi-Kurdish regional government in Erbil where the tense is escalating, which might lead to a civil war. The Kurdish people's struggle for national rights continued for most of the 20th century where the Kurdish nationalist movement employed arm struggle as a mean to achieve its nationalist rights especially since 1961. Its national struggle culminated in a de facto state in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1990s. After the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, a constitution was adopted recognizing Iraq as a federalist state, guaranteeing Kurdish nationalist rights. Since then, the Iraqi government is not meeting its obligation to solve the problem of the disputed areas between the Kurdish region and the central government in accordance to Article 140 of the Iraqi Constitution. The Kurdish forces were securing most of the disputed areas after the collapse of the former regime. Now, the Iraqi Prime Minister, Nouri al-Maliki, is ordering Iraqi troops to move to these areas, a move that is forcefully opposed by Massoud al-Barzani, the President of the Kurdistan region. In my paper, I will present a historical background to the Kurdish issue in Iraq and specifically after the collapse of the former Iraqi regime in April 2003. I will investigate the causes of the current and continuous tense between the two parties and assess the current political situation in Iraq. I will present the contending parties arguments and will propose a possible solution to the issue, discussing various possibilities if the conflict continues to escalate.

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James Headley

Still Leading by Virtuous Example?
Virtue Ethics and the EU in a Time of Crisis

As part of his Normative Power Europe framework, Ian Manners has proposed that virtue ethics can provide a useful paradigm for understanding the relationship between the European Union's internal policies and its external normative impact. The EU sets a virtuous example by living up to the principles that it promotes in the world. However, the application of virtue ethics to International Relations (IR) has been under-researched, with the exception, for example, of work by Chris Brown and recent articles by Jamie Gaskarth. In this paper, I use the EU as an example of the application of virtue ethics to IR and discuss how virtue ethics might illuminate the EU's foreign policy approach. In the first section, I show how virtue ethics can be applied in studying IR, specifically exploring the relationship between the concept of 'virtue' and constructivist notions of 'identity'. In the second section, I apply this analysis to the European Union, focusing on particular values espoused by the EU, including the broad project of regional integration itself. I investigate the degree to which there is consistency between the values encapsulated in internal policies and those espoused through external foreign policy, and what mechanisms exist to correct inconsistencies. In the final section, I consider the implications of the present Eurozone crisis – and the deep challenges it poses to the European integration project – for the EU's claim and ability to lead by virtuous example.

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Measures that Increase Overseas Absentee Voting

One of the challenges facing many democracies is making it easier for citizens abroad to vote.

Some countries post absentee ballots through the mail; others set up polling stations at their embassies and consulates. A recent innovation involves delivering blank ballots using Internet websites.

Most of the research on voting reforms in the United States demonstrates that new voting methods are used mostly by citizens who vote on a regular basis, and they do little to encourage others to vote. One possible explanation for their limited effect is that many citizens do not learn about a new voting method until it is too late to request use of it. This is especially true of citizens that are not heavily engaged in politics or are located abroad are especially unlikely to learn about innovations in voting, such as downloadable ballots.

This paper reports on the results of a field experiment that randomly assigned different email messages to alert overseas citizens and members of the military about a new Internet-based absentee ballot system prior to its first implementation. We combine information about the messages' content with individuals voting histories , physical location during the 2010 election, and the method they used to vote in that election. Our results show that a concise message introducing the new system that emphasizes a voter's ties to their home state has a significant impact on their propensity to vote using that system. The results also demonstrate that voters who reside abroad, are located within the borders of an allied country, and are not situated in a conflict zone are more likely to vote with the new system than domestic voters and voters abroad who are posted in a non-allied nation or a conflict zone.

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Religion in the Political Public Sphere: The Democratic Potential of Faith-Based Arguments in Public Discussion and Deliberation

The paper provides an overview of the reception of Jürgen Habermas' political thinking in the field of Christian theology in the last two decades, analyzing the answers that have been given to the challenge of combining faith and reason, religion and individual freedom in democratic societies. Authors of significance here are, among others, Johann Baptist Metz, Francis Schüssler Fiorenza and Edmund Arens. It shall be discussed the democratic potential attributed to faith-based arguments in public discussion and deliberation as well as the religious foundations identified for a liberal tradition of philosophy and political thought. What would the role of faith-based arguments in the public sphere be? How can religious discourses contribute to a cosmopolitan thinking beyond the Kantian horizon? In short, what are the most important conclusions, that is to say, the main results of the dialogue between Habermas and theology in regard of contemporary politics in the last years?

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The Regional Repercussions of Turkey-Syria Relations

The Arab uprisings which began in December 2010 have turned into a development which has affected the whole of the Middle East. Many Middle Eastern cities began to undergo important transformations in their social, political and economic structures. As a result of the influence of these uprisings the conflicts which also began in Syria in March 2011 have become a turning point in the Turkey-Syrian relationships. Since March 2011 there has been a reversal in their relationship which was heading towards a very positive direction and a reversal in the positive social, economic and political influences gained by some of the Syrian border cities of Turkey following the July 1998 Adana agreement. This study will be dealing with analysing how the Turkey-Syria relationship from 1998 to date has made an impact on the political, economic and social aspects upon some of the cities of Turkey. In this context, we argue that Turkey's Syrian policy has become the most important factor that has influenced and transformed the cities of Turkey situated along Turkey's Syrian borders. The study will elaborate upon the bilateral relations within the framework of their economic relations, ethnic conflicts/reconciliations and their refugee affairs.

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Impact of Geopolitics of Climate Change Perceptions on Patents Law and Technology Transfer to African States

Climate change is not an entirely new phenomenon; it has been in existence since time immemorial. Today, there is global consensus on climate science pointing to anthropogenic climate change; however, many opposing or even conflicting and contrasting schools of thought remain dominant over the causes, costs and solutions to climate change. For some countries, climate change is seen as climate catastrophe, mere global warming, and "natural to nature." For others it is about increased vulnerability against decreased resilience. Whatever orientation an individual or State may share points to a fair representation of the action or inaction the State and international community is willing to take. The researcher will explore the foregoing research question. How do the prevalent geopolitical perceptions of climate change influence patent law which in essence determines technological transfer, a vital component towards forging environmentally sustainable alternatives to reduce climate change risks and impacts? This paper will argue the role of the State, international community and their seemingly subtle soft power to indirectly influence mental models relating to climate change so as to achieve deliberate inaction concerning climate change commitments pertaining to technology transfer to African States, via the patent law/rights excuse. The paper also investigates why the United States of America & European Union; World Bank and World Trade Organization are involved with creating and maintaining different climate change perceptions? What or who are the determinants? What are the ramifications of the same on technology transfer to African States? It is important to comprehend the function of climate change geopolitics on perceptions. The consistencies of exposure of certain images whether or not they are abided by eventually dictate behavior for better or worse. Unavailability of alternative technology in African States will have implications for the global North. Inaction produced through geopolitically charged climate change perceptions affects all.

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Arab Spring: The Crisis of Governability and the Impact on Arab-Israeli Dialogue

The events which swamped the Arab countries since January 2011 and changed the regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen and still going in Syria, Bahrain and others have come to be called Arab Spring. Whether called spring or winter, this change has brought Islamists to power. After eighty- fife years of its establishment in 1928 the Muslim Brotherhood has arrived at the presidential palace in Egypt. Its candidate Muhammad Mursi became Egypt's first president after the revolution which ousted Mubarak regime in February 11, 2011. The Muslim Brotherhood is the most powerful political force and religious movement that became the wellspring of Islamist ideologies worldwide. The rise of Islamists to power in Egypt the populous and inflectional country which signed a Peace Treaty with Israel in 1979 generated a number of serious questions of which Arabo-Israeli dialogue and that of peace and stability in the Middle East are really critical. Contributing to the debate, this paper seeks to develop a better grasp of Egypt's new regime and the political scenarios, with special attention to Egypt's dialogue and bilateral relations with Israel and the peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis. Investigation will also consider the region's major players including the United States, Israel, Turkey, Iran and the impact of the Syrian crises on Iran-Hizbullah and Hamas access.

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The Politics of Exclusion and State Fragility in Africa: A Practitioner's Perspective

Political theorists of all persuasion, policy-makers and practitioners have debated for decades on dilemmas of overcoming intra-state conflicts and state fragility, particularly in Africa. This is evident by the continuing bourgeoning scholarly literature on the subject such as World Bank reports (1989, 1992 and 1994) [1], Robert Bates (2008), Anne Mette Kjaer (2004), and Samuel Huntington (1991)[2].

I argue that it is the exclusionary policies that the ruling elites in Africa pursued and continue to pursue that are the root causes of past and ongoing conflicts - be it ethnic, religious, identity or resource-based. I define exclusion multi-dimensionally as a process where one group or groups are systematically excluded or blocked from economic, political and social opportunities on the basis their ethnicity, race, religion or creed.[3]

Drawing on own my experiences as a UN practitioner in post-conflict African states such as Sudan and South Sudan (where I serve as a senior UN official), I posit that this enduring challenge of intra-state conflicts and state fragility in post-independent African would be overcome with a context-based framework of inclusion. I will explore the analytical instruments of inclusion in conflict prevention and management.

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[1]World Bank (1989) Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth, Washington DC
- World Bank (1992) Governance and Development, Washington DC
- World Bank (1994) Governance and the Bank's Experience, Washington DC

[2] Robert Bates – When Things Fall Apart, State Failures in the Late Century Africa (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008
- Samuel Huntington – The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century (University of Oklahoma Press, Norma, 1991). Anne Mette Kjaer (2004, ibid)

[3] See the works of Anthony Giddins – Introduction to Sociology, New York WW Norton, 2009), Crawford Young – Politics of Cultural Pluralism (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977)

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Region and Regionalization in East Asia:
A Constructivist View

Argument has often been raised whether the mainstream paradigms of European integration, namely neo-functionalism and inter-governmentalism, are relevant in explaining a seemingly similar process in East Asia, highly vibrant seconded to the European one. Moreover, the idea of 'new regionalism', highly influenced by social constructivist views, rather becomes workable mode in this region. New regionalism in East Asia becomes increasingly ad hoc, bottom up and informal networks and even driven by the concerns of the weaker actors.

 Sub-regional geometric economy has also been perceived as a complementary accelerator for wider regionalism. Post-Cold War regionalization in East Asia is to prepare smaller regions in the stream of globalization by providing them economic growth and reattach them into the fierce globalization process. The 'region' construction project took place within sub-regions characterized by both materialist and ideational geographical proximity and economic complementary which distinguished from wider regional initiatives like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN. The uses of geometric economy, i.e. growth triangles and growth polygons to define 'a region' go beyond nation-states and physical boundaries to link contiguous border areas of different countries or using water network linking different zones.

The paper will give an emphasis on the buildings of the regions or 'regionalization' process, not a geographically given but ideationally constructed to achieve synergetic development outcomes in East Asia. Among many other regionalizations, the article uses the case-studies of Bangladesh-India-Myanmar-Sri Lanka-Thailand Economic Cooperation or the Bay of Bengal Initiative Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle (IMS-GT), Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (IMT-GT), Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia-Philippines East ASEAN Growth Area (BIMP-EAGA), Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy (ACMECS), and Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS). Criteria of assessing the effectiveness of these economic geographies are 1) the way 'region' has constructed ideationally and

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how it has connected materialistically, 2) regional elites providing region-wide public goods and level of elite socialization, 3) level of pluralistic society and organizations' visibility, and 4) multi-level structure.

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Third Wave Democratization in Greece and Portugal

Drawing on the literature on democratization and democratic transition theory, this paper explores two very early cases of what came to be called the third wave of transitions to democracy: the 1974 revolution of the carnations in Portugal and the collapse of the Greek junta after the Cyprus fiasco. Elias Papaioannou and Gregorious Siourounis in their study *Economic and Social Factors Driving the Third Wave of Democratization* provide a rich data set that demonstrates that economic development and education are strongly correlated with successful third wave transitions. This paper argues that along with economic development and education, organic mass movements played, and continue to play, a critical role in mobilizing society for the transition to democracy. The current demands for more direct and participatory democracy in both Greece and Portugal in the wake of the devastating Eurozone Crisis should be seen as part of a broader and deeper democratic consolidation process that began almost four decades ago.

Far too much emphasis in the democratic transition literature has been placed upon the electoral process, and the role of grassroots mobilization in overthrowing autocratic regimes and in the post-revolutionary consolidation of democracy has been neglected. Paul Collier offers an excellent critique of the overemphasis on electoral politics in his comprehensive study Wars, *Guns, and Voles: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. While his critique applies specifically to later Third Wave transitions, the early *Third Wave* transitions are now clearly demonstrating the fallacy of equating elections with democracy. Lest the same simplistic formulas be repeated in the transitions of the Arab Spring and beyond, the conventional democratic indicators must be challenged. Indeed, the current demands for more "genuine" participatory societies beyond voting are illustrative of the need for analyzing what constitutes "democratic" consolidation. Such a study would make a useful contribution to the theory of democratic transition and consolidation.

Even in Juan Linz' and Alfred Stepan's ambitious volume *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, their definition of what qualifies for a democratic transition is dependent upon a free and popular vote that

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produces a legitimate government. However, this argument is tautological because legitimate government is defined by the holding of elections. This paper argues that looking at the broader processes of liberalization in a much more comprehensive way, as a necessary step in democratization (as defined by Linz, Stepan and others), would avoid the circular argument of defining successful democratic consolidation as the holding of elections. Liberalization as a process is not limited to economic liberalization that many in the field mistakenly conflate with the existence of free markets. By broadening the concept of liberalization to include political processes along the lines emerging from the grass roots politics of post Eurozone Crisis Greece and Portugal, this paper expands upon what constitutes "democratic consolidation" in theory as well as practice.

The data garnered from the recent collaboration between the London School of Economics (Civil and Human Security Unit) and the Open Society Foundations shows a pronounced disillusionment with democracy as it is currently practiced. Indeed, rather than an expression of disillusionment with the narrow issues of austerity, the current wave of subterranean politics across Europe is illustrative of the greater malaise from the "democracy deficit." The findings of the field research in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Hungary revealed widespread concerns with accountability and transparency in current regimes, and a desire to re-think of democracy with new techniques of consensus building. This 'bubbling up' of subterranean politics (organic protests, occupations, and spontaneous collective expressions of political demands) represents a rebuke of the electoral obsession in the transition literature. It also points to new avenues for the consolidation of democracy in grass roots movements that one can argue are far more fitting to democratic transitions and that would facilitate the transitions becoming more permanent.

Indeed, in the case that Huntington attributed with "initiating and literally creating the age of democracy, Portugal" (the first of the *Third Wave)*, the subterranean politics emerged in the immediate aftermath of the 25 April coup by the MFA. These subterranean politics were critical in the initial democratic transition, played a significant role in the consolidation process, and is now emerging once again in much the same way as in the four polities of the LSE/Open Society study. This paper argues that the first of the third wave transitions in Portugal shows the importance of the broader spectrum liberalization process (especially the subterranean politics). It also offers a bit of a cautionary tale to the current transition makers of The Arab Spring regarding

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premature elections, overemphasis on the electoral process, and ignoring, or worse, suppressing of the emerging subterranean politics.

Finally, a case study that is notably absent from the LSE/Open Society Foundations project is perhaps the most important one, for it is taking place where democracy was born in the collective imagination of western civilization and where the formal electoral democracy is currently being overtaken by the subterranean politics of those in the streets, namely in Athens. In comparing the Portuguese and Greek cases, this paper will argue that popular participation, consensus building, non-hierarchical decision-making are essential components of the liberalization process that make a critical contribution to true consolidation of democracy. The inadequacy of traditional political parties in the transformation, consolidation, and now, renegotiation process of "what democracy looks like," will also inform the arguments made in this paper. The disaffection with the Socialist Parties by those of the subterranean politics persuasion (with the PS in Portugal, and the PASOK in Greece) is another driver that helps to explain the demands for what many are calling participatory societies.

The staunch rejection of neo-liberalism in toto with its externally imposed austerity measures, shock doctrine rationale, and utter disregard for the ninety-nine per cent is the cause célèbre of subterranean politics. It is the theme that unites seemingly disparate factions across both sides of the Atlantic (and beyond). Indeed, the rejection of neo-liberalism is inextricably linked with feelings about the erosion of genuine participatory democracy. Redefining "liberalization" is a necessary starting point in addressing the democratic consolidation process as millions of people in the polities of Europe and elsewhere begin to collectively re-imagine "democracy."

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Racial Context and the 2008 and 2012 US Presidential Elections

The establishment of the unprecedented multiracial coalition was a key to Barack Obama's historical win of the US Presidency in 2008. Many suggested that the election of Barack Obama in 2008 marked the beginning of a postracial era in the United States. The 2012 presidential election, however, revealed a higher level of racial tension which reduced the white voter support for Obama to less than 40% at the national level. Despite the declined support at the national level, Whites' willingness to vote for Obama at the state level was much more critical to his winning record in the Electoral College. To account for the variation in Obama's white voter support in states, this article examines the previous contextual explanations of white voting behavior. Drawing on arguments in the recent American political development literature (King and Smith 2005, Novkov 2008), this research proposes a new racial tension theory to link Obama's white voter support to the deep-seated racial tension at the state level. In doing so, a theoretic and empirical solution is offered to solve the problem of high correlations between the major contextual variables measuring black density (Key 1949), state political culture (Elazar 1984), racial diversity (Hero 1998) and social capital (Putnam 2000). Methodologically both the exit poll data and King's (1997) Extended EI estimates are adopted to minimize measurement errors and test the hypotheses. The converged findings based on multiple methods clearly show the direct and negative effect of racial tension on white willingness to vote for black candidates. Overall, the study reveals the enduring, rather than vanishing, contextual effect of race on the historical election of the nation's first African-American President.

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The 2012 Revision of the Generalised System of Preferences: Articulating trade, Development and Foreign Policy Objectives

Since the early 1970s, the EU pictures itself as a pioneer of trade measures specifically adapted to the need of developing countries. The Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) is a flagship instrument of EU trade policy and of its commitment to the realization of development objectives. In 2010, the European Commission undertook a major revision exercise, which led to the adoption in October 2012 of an EU regulation on a revised GSP, aiming at more effectiveness. If the review of the current system was rather positive – the contribution of the GSP to development and poverty eradication being recognised – it was not as far-reaching as one would have hoped. The revision process reflects EU efforts not only to adapt its scheme of import preferences to rapidly changing global trade patters, but above all to better match the trade, economic and financial needs of developing countries and to target its efforts on those developing countries most in need. The role of the Commission was instrumental given its expertise and competence in trade policy. This paper focuses on the drafting of the Commission proposal for a regulation on a revised GSP. To what extent does the Commission proposal provide for a consistent action of the EU on trade preferences? This chapter argues that the drafting of the proposal illustrates long-term and strategic coordination efforts within and between institutions at the intersection between development, trade and foreign policy concerns.

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Environmental Governance Institutionalisation in Transnational Space. The New Institutionalist Approach

Institutionalisation in transnational space encompasses processes of institution-building occurring in the realm of transboundary interactions and flows, in which states and intergovernmental organizations are either not present at all, or they do not represent the predominant form of actorness. Environmental dimension of transnational space may be conceptualized as a "laboratory" of those processes. The purpose of the paper will be to analyze environmental governance institutionalisation in transnational space from the new institutionalist perspective, including its two sub-fileds – rational choice and normative institutionalism. On one hand, this analytical framework will help to present the emerging transnational institutions created by various actors form public and private sphere, of non-profit and profit-making character, as an effect of their rational choice under conditions of the international system transformation. On the other hand, institutionalisation in transnational space will be presented as a factor of changes in the international arena.

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South Africa's Political Risk Profile in 2013: Reflections on Selected Indicators

In an authoritative and significant study on political risks for South Africa in 2005/06, Prof. Albert Venter (University of Johannesburg) concluded that South Africa's macro-political risk image in the mid-2000s (circa 2005) could best be portrayed as being of a 'medium risk category'. Since Venter conducted his research, South Africa has experienced important changes at top political leadership level and in the political arena in general. Moreover, towards the end of 2012, South Africa encountered several serious violent strikes in the mining and farming industries, social tension and policy uncertainty. This followed the Marikana tragedy on the 16th of August in the mining industry in the Rustenburg area that focused international attention on the South African political landscape after a series of violent incidents between the South African Police Service and the striking workforce. The Marikana incident resulted in the deaths of approximately 47 people, the majority of whom were striking mineworkers killed by the South African Police Service. Close to 80 additional workers were also injured on the 16th of August. The total number of injured people during the strike remains unknown.

The impetus for this paper is a downgrading of South Africa by ratings agencies Moody's and Standard & Poor of South Africa's sovereign debt rating in the aftermath of the Marikana incident during the last months of 2012. The downgrading means that the South African government will have to pay more for borrowing money, making it more challenging to finance infrastructure projects and the economy in general. The effect was specifically evident in the sense that Moody's downgraded the credit ratings of 12 municipalities, the Development Bank of South Africa and deposit ratings of major South African banks, namely Standard Bank, Absa, FirstRand, Nedbank and Investec. In fact, these institutions were all placed on "negative watch", meaning further downgrades could follow unless conditions improve.

The question arises whether political, economic and social conditions in South Africa are currently posing greater political risk for potential investment than during the 1990s to mid-2000s. This calls for a fresh assessment of relevant indicators or variables in the South African context as well as a reasoned, empirically defensible and testable

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attempt that is not merely mirroring the idiosyncratic opinion of the analyst. In other words, what is needed is an analysis of relevant political risk indicators that are based on a sound intellectual tradition and practical logic. Against this background this study is an attempt to revisit and analyse current political risk in South Africa on the basis of a selected set of indicators or variables that are commonly and internationally used in risk analysis frameworks.

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All Debt Isn't Equal: The Political Ramifications of Student Loan Debt Differentially Accrued

There is a crisis in student loan debt in the United States. For example, as Pew Research has documented, 19% of families carried student loan debt in 2010 up from only 9% in 1989. This is most deeply felt by those younger than 35 as 40% of these individuals have student loan debt and the average level of indebtedness is substantial – over 26 thousand dollars.1[1] This project hypothesizes that "not all student loan debt is equal" though. Rather than simply reporting the aggregate debt figures, I will engage in-depth interviews with current and former students across several institutional types (for-profit colleges, community colleges, public universities, private universities, public affairs and science master's programs, law schools) to examine how student debt accrued in different institutional settings influences factors including: ability to repay, personal and family well-being, engagement with college community, freedom of occupational choice, perceived role/efficacy of higher education, willingness to support the democratic mission of higher education, and political efficacy. It thus applies the policy learning approach to student loan debt (Schneider and Ingram 1993; Soss 2003; Soss and Schram 2008). The primary contributions of this project are twofold. First, it offers the first-ever interpretive understanding of how student loan impacts one's whole self, occupational autonomy, and subsequent support/nonsupport for the social welfare programming broadly construed. Second, in differentiating between the educational settings where one accrues debt, the project can uncover how, if at all, hierarchies amongst and within educational settings may compound or mitigate the long-term implications of student debt. The results presented will be the theoretical foundations of this project, the connections to social welfare policy, and preliminary findings.

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[1] Richard Fry. 2012. (download date, October 24, 2012) http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/09/26/a-record-one-in-five-households-now-owe-student-loan-debt/

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Political Under-Representation of Women: A Comparative Study between the UK and Poland

Research question: *What are the foundations of difficulties responsible for women's underrepresentation in the House of Commons and The Sejm of the Republic of Poland?*

"There are very few jobs that actually require a penis or vagina. All other jobs should be open to everybody" (Florynce Kennedy (1916-2000) cited in Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006: 8).

In modern politics, as early as in the 1970s, women's low presence in parliaments around the world has become an important issue among society (Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Wawrowski, 2007; Ballington 2009). However women's fight for civil and political rights have their roots in 1848, when the first women's movement has taken place in the US (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006). For many years, feminist theorists incorporated gender under-representation and power by interlinking them with many aspects of political, sociological, cultural and structural factors (Norris cited in Dalton and Klingemann, 2007). However, the importance of women's role in legislative bodies has been acknowledged at the beginning of the 20th century (Lovenduski and Karam, 2002; King, 2005).

As statistical data suggests, the number of women's population varies around 50 per cent (BIS, 2011; Ruedin, 2010; Krook, 2010; Mediocre, 2011; UNSD, 2012), therefore the importance of equal access to decision making for women cannot be ignored (Ballington and Karam, 2005; Haffert at el., 2010). Furthermore, according to Abdela (2010:18) "democracy is not democracy when over half the population are not fully represented".

This comparative in nature project carried out across two countries: UK and Poland, investigates the roots and foundations of gender inequality in national politics and also explores the ways in which these difficulties are experienced. The study illuminates the position, perception and backgrounds of society's thoughts on women's political careers and explores the reasons for gender inequality in the political elite across the House of Common and the Polish Sejm. This research would give indications of another way to promote women's political

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success, by establishing the foundations of barriers and by indicating how to overcome these in the future.

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Technocratic Governments during the Eurocrisis: Nothing New Under the Sun?

Since 2008 the financial and economic crisis has had many (side) effects on governance in Europe. One of these effects has been the 'technocratic turn' of national and European politics. Public opinion and media have reacted with strong surprise and commotion when 'technocrats' Lucas Papademos in Greece and Mario Monti in Italy have been appointed nearly simultaneously at the head of governments of experts. Were these governments the unprecedented result of one of the worse crisis ever experienced by Europe, and are they therefore unique to these past four years? And if they are not, do they differ substantially from previous examples? These are the questions I will address in my paper. In the <u>first part of the paper</u> I will argue that technocratic governments have been a rare, but by no means uncommon, solution in established European democracies. Since the end of World War II they have been appointed to deal with crises of political and economic kind. My paper will be a response and a criticism of those scholars who argue that technocratic governments are an unlikely scenario (Meynaud 1969), or have not existed in Europe before the current crisis (Fabbrini 2000, Fabbrini 2013), or that, if they have existed, they have done so in forms that pertain to the specificities of one country's political system (Italy (Morlino 2012) or Finland (Kuusisto 1958, Nousiainen 1988)) and that cannot be generalized.

I will conceptualise technocratic governments as a family of governments, rather than as an individually defined type, as they present different characteristics depending on the political system they happen in. They:

- are independent vis-à-vis political parties, be it because their ministers are non-partisan, or because they behave as such
- are not the direct result of elections because they follow the fall of a government or the impossibility to form one
- base their legitimacy on 'knowledge', either real – ministers in those governments often have PhDs and professional experience in the field – or claimed
- have a parliamentary majority that is not a political majority
- are recognized in the media as such.

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From some initial research, the list of technocratic governments can be drawn up as follows[1]:

Head of Government	Start date	End date	Country
Berov	1992/12/30	1994/09/02	Bulgaria
Indzhova	1994/10/17	1994/12/18	Bulgaria
Sofiyanski	1997/02/12	1997/04/19	Bulgaria
Raykov	2013/03/12	2013/05/12	Bulgaria
Vassiliou[2]	1988/02/28	1993/02/14	Cyprus
Tosovsky	1998/01/02	1998/06/20	Czech Republic
Fischer	2009/05/08	2010/05/29	Czech Republic
Tuomioja	1953/11/17	1954/03/08	Finland
von Fieandt	1957/11/29	1958/04/18	Finland
Kuuskoski	1958/04/26	1958/07/07	Finland
Lehto	1963/12/18	1964/09/12	Finland
Aura I	1970/05/14	1970/07/15	Finland
Aura II	1971/10/29	1972/01/03	Finland
Liinamaa	1975/06/13	1975/09/22	Finland
Grivas	1989/10/12	1989/11/05	Greece
Zolotas	1989/11/23	1990/04/08	Greece
Papademos	2011/11/11	2012/05/17	Greece
Pikrammenos	2012/05/17	2012/06/17	Greece
Bajnai	2009/04/14	2010/04/25	Hungary
Pella	1953/08/17	1954/01/15	Italy
Amato I[3]	1992/06/28	1993/04/22	Italy
Ciampi	1993/04/29	1994/01/13	Italy
Dini	1995/01/17	1996/01/07	Italy
Monti	2011/11/16	2012/23/02	Italy
Nobre de Costa	1978/08/29	1978/09/15	Portugal
Mota Pinto	1978/11/22	1979/06/11	Portugal
Pintassilgo	1979/07/31	1979/12/02	Portugal

In the second part of the paper, based on the preceding historical analysis, I will try to identify the causes behind such non-political arrangements. My hypotheses will draw on scholarship on technocracies in non-European countries (Centeno 1993, Centeno and Wolfson 1997, Ward 1998, Williams 2006) and on technocracy in

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[1]Based on data has been taken from a variety of sources: Parlgov.or, Circap (Siena University), ERDDA.se, national governments' websites, desk research, interviews etc.
[2]tbc
[3]tbc

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national and European politics (Meynaud 1969, Gunnell 1982, Brint 1990, Radaelli 1999, William 2000, KHOO 2010).
I will argue that technocratic governments are the result of combinations of elements from the following list:

- crisis (as a fact, that can be measured in terms of economic situation or political situation)
- weak political culture (defined as a lack of trust between citizens and government due to high levels of corruption)
- fragmentation and instability of the party system
- enabling constitutional arrangements: semi-presidentialism, both formally as a political set up, and informally as measured by the influence of the head of state in the appointment of technocratic governments and/or non-partisan ministers (Duverger 1980, Nousiainen 1988, Neto and Strøm 2006, Kysela and Kuhn 2007, Neto and Lobo 2009)

My paper in the <u>third and final part</u> will concentrate on the explanatory variable 'crisis' and look at the current crisis to assess the role of the EU - in terms of direct intervention, indirect pressures or formal constraints- in the appointment of the technocratic governments since 2008. I expect to find that that the case of the current crisis is different from previous occurrences of technocratic governments because of the increased role of the EU.

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Superman without Borders: The Controversial Renunciation of US-Citizenship and the Political Implications on It under the Perspective of the Narrative

This paper presents an analysis of the comic book story written by David Goyer and published in the commemorative edition of Action Comics # 900, which has as main topic Superman's renunciation of the U.S. citizenship. Through an exploratory and bibliographical review, the study aims to examine the consequences of this renunciation under the perspective of superhero narratives and his broad mythology and the consequences in the fictional community which the character has a relationship of belonging to and in the fandom as well. Questioning the meaning of Superman's renunciation leads into two directions: a formal and discursive disruption and a substantial disruption. The story reflects a critique to the way the U.S. are establishing international relations as well as it expresses the U.S. ideological presence and power over seas, when we take Joseph Nye Jr.'s idea on *Soft Power* as background. The study indicates that there is a critique to the U.S. government inside the story, which can be understood as a critique to the fatherland, to the citizenship, to the American Way of Life.

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On the Role of Multilevel Governance in Brussels' Development

Nowadays cities function in an extensive structure of multilevel relationships in which diverse actors obtain their policy targets. Within this context we focus on the intricate phenomenon of governance in Brussels. Despite the federalisation of Belgium supports projects that promote local governance system, the far-reaching network of institutions makes it very complex. The dispersion of decision making from the municipal to the international level has both positive and negative influence on the Brussels' development. Therefore, distinguishing the key players in the city is essential to understand the model of urban policy in the smallest region of Belgium. Even if urban governance is defined as a local matter of the 19 communes of the Brussels Capital Region and the European institutions may not be visible as players in the local setting, they are very present in the arena of power, because they create a specific demand at certain places in the city. The capital of Belgium benefits from a presence of European and global partners but balancing between manifold actors assigns its idiosyncratic political and administrative form of urban regime. It involves a wide range of combined modifications of law regulations. Our approach is to examine how the municipal, regional and federal bodies interrelate with each other in urban policy making, how they interact with international, especially the EU forces and how they contribute to the Brussels' sustainability. Finally how this framework of institutions has changed the city and how the rules of law, transparency and fairness are abided in doing Brussels the 'symbolic capital' of Europe?

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Amending the TRIPS Agreement:
A Counter-Hegemonic Struggle of Social Forces

Based on a neo-Gramscian theoretical framework, this paper examines the change in the key provisions of the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) Agreement, which evolved to become more socially responsive to health needs. With the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994, the mandate of the multilateral trade regime has been expanded to new areas such as services, investment measures, and intellectual property rights. By creating a market-based system for pharmaceutical production, pricing, and imports with stronger intellectual property (IP) rights protection, the TRIPS Agreement symbolized a trade system that put commercial interests before health and other social concerns. The clash of market norms with non-market norms created political tensions in many developing countries and fuelled hegemonic struggle between a broad set of actors within civil society.

In 2001, with the Doha Ministerial Declaration on the TRIPs Agreement and Public Health, TRIPS was amended to facilitate trade in generic versions of patented medicines. Using the qualitative instruments of discourse analysis and examining consensus-making process of various social forces, this paper attributes this outcome to the counter-hegemonic struggle carried out by NGOs such as Health Action International, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Third World Network who campaigned for facilitating the legal access of least developed countries to generic drugs. It argues that these NGOs worked as a counter-hegemonic force effectively challenging the legitimate basis of the TRIPS agreement by establishing a new moral and normative framework associated with sustainable development. Their "access to medicines" campaign introduced a new hegemonic discourse that changed the previous emphasis on industry-centered orientation emphasizing economic incentives and the protection of IP rights-owners with an emphasis that balances intellectual property protection with social needs and the protection of the IP users.

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Just War, Saving Strangers or the Responsibility to Protect? The Case of the Kurds and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention

The 1991 armed intervention in Iraq to assist the Kurds is considered a pivotal moment in the contemporary history of humanitarian intervention. This mission was the first time that the international community, through the United Nations Security Council, explicitly authorised the use of armed force in a country against its wishes, with the primary objective of protecting individuals from widespread atrocities and serious human rights violations.

This paper shows that although international support for the intervention in Iraq implied a shared understanding of the humanitarian objectives of the military operation, this was far from the reality. Governments instead differed on the extent to which they saw just war theory, humanitarianism, support for universal human rights and the presence of a humanitarian exception to state sovereignty, as underpinning the deployment of their troops on foreign soil. Over the course of the intervention the United States in particular also shifted its perceptions of the boundaries of humanitarian interventionism. These changes in turn shaped the conduct of operations, the progress of the mission, the setting of timelines, the decision to withdraw troops and assessments of success. In addition, the United States' and European nations' experience of leading this intervention influenced both the development of the theory and subsequent practice of humanitarian intervention.

By identifying the reflexive nature of humanitarian intentions in the Kurdish example, this paper demonstrates how the outcomes of future humanitarian interventions are likely be affected by the way governments understand the scope of their humanitarian obligations, as well as what humanitarian outcomes are desirable and possible to achieve through the use of armed force.

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The Changes in the Status and Power of the Butonese Aristocracy Classes in History in Indonesia

This article examines the rise and fall of the status and power of the traditional aristocracy class in Buton, Indonesia. The Butonese have kept a rigid social stratification, which still has a great impact on the current society. Like other parts of the archipelago, the Butonese aristocracy during the traditional era controlled society by wielding its executive and legislative powers. During the Dutch colonial period in the 19th century, its position as the dominant group was still sustained, although they were deprived of many of their powers. The early 20th century marked a watershed in terms of the status of the aristocracy throughout the archipelago in general because their status began to be challenged by the emergence of other societal powers, especially the Islamic and youth forces. These powers, often based upon commoners' background, sometimes achieved social revolutions and wiped out these upper classes. By contrast, the fate of the Butonese aristocracy was different. There was no social revolution or emergence of other societal powers against them, which allowed them to maintain their dominant status. Not only did Christianity not enter the region, but Islamic forces based on the commoner background never grew in the region. The Butonese aristocracy class intentionally took the strategy of isolation. This strong exclusionism along the social caste showed negative results in their power dominance being limited to only their region. The biggest reason for their reluctance was the fear of losing their power dominance due to any possible social changes caused by the exposure to the outer circumstances.

The Butonese aristocracy also sustained their dominant positions in society until the early Suharto period. Yet, this power began to collapse suddenly in the early Suharto Era with the spread of the rumor that this region was the stronghold of the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI: Indonesian Communist Party) since 1965. The PKI incident in 1969 and the sudden collapse of the aristocracy class in Buton can be attributed to three factors: first, ethnic rivalry in southern Sulawesi area; second, the rivalry between the higher and lower aristoracy classes; and third, lack of preparedness for the new social changes. Yet, when Baubau became

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an autonomous region in the post-Suharto period, these traditional elites dominated administrative positions.

As part of the studies on the traditional elites in Indonesia, this paper deals with some questions including: What was the nature of the Butonese elite groups?; How did these groups respond to the social changes throughout the Dutch colonial and republic eras?; and, What led to their marginalization in society during the Suharto period? This study will suggest that these traditional elite classes should be examined as heterogeneous groups, which respond to various social changes with different ideas and strategies. In addition, the researcher examines what factors influenced the rise and fall of traditional elite groups in Indonesia.

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Theology as a Political Commitment from the Liberation Theology in Latin America: An Approach to the Contribution of Leonardo Boff

Liberation Theology has followed the political theologies and has privileged social sciences in developing its method. Through the socio-analytical mediation, theologians sought to contextualize the theological thought in order to redeem its relevance to the action in the reality. However, due to the fact that theology is historically linked to the biblical tradition, theology could not claim an interpretation of reality without passing through the sieve of the heritage of faith. With that, there was an epistemological hierarchy, in which social theory composed a pre-theological moment, or rather, the raw material for theological elaboration. In this paper, we analyze the thought of Leonardo Boff, an exponent of Liberation Theology, from the perspective of the relationship between theology and social theory.

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Social Tolerance in Eastern Europe: The Role of the Orthodox Church and Socioeconomic Development

My paper explores the interactive effect of post-materialism and religion on the acceptance of homosexuality in Eastern Europe. Since the fall of socialist governments, the Eastern Orthodox Church in Romania and Bulgaria has vigorously "policed" state positions toward lesbian and gay lifestyles, there by shaping policy and public perceptions. Yet numerous publications over the past twenty years suggest that socioeconomic development has engendered more progressive and tolerant attitudes toward out-groups. In recent years, Romania and Bulgaria have witnessed an unprecedented increase in civil society movements that challenge traditional views of sexual identity. These have been met with fierce and sometimes violent resistance by religious institutions and leaders.

I offer a comparative case analysis of homosexual tolerance in Romania and Bulgaria, concentrating explicitly on how the Church has resisted LGBT rights amidst rising socioeconomic standards from market reforms and international integration. Romania and Bulgaria are in a unique comparative position. They not only hold the most intolerant views toward LGBT citizens among EU member states, they are also the poorest. Within these bottom most positions, Romania is the more intolerant of the two despite higher socioeconomic levels. I compare how the Orthodox Church in these states has attempted to sway state policy and whether and how the growing post-materialist values of citizens has hindered its goals. I focus on how religious institutions lobby government, propagandize the issue, and adapt to the changing socioeconomic conditions in Eastern Europe.

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Dovetailing Aid and Development:
The Impact of US Aid on Development and Democracy in Pakistan

The word 'development' has been in vogue in the field of international relations and politics, particularly in the post-World War II period. Though colonial interventions were made in the name of development and modernization, the concept did not rise to prominence in the eyes of scholars during that period. With the end of the World War II followed by decolonization, foreign assistance and international development discourse gained the ground in academia as well as in international politics. In recent decades, the number of bilateral donors has rather increased; thus suggesting that poverty remains to be a universal challenge.

Pakistan presents an interesting and complex case in terms of foreign aid and development. The postcolonial state of Pakistan has been one of the most aid dependent peripheral countries since its inception. During more than sixty-five years of its existence, the country has gone from bad to worse in terms of economy and politics despite receiving billions of dollars in aid and loans from various bilateral Western countries, particularly the United States, and multilateral agencies, such as the World Bank and IMF. Pakistan, being in a strategically important geopolitical position – surrounded by China, India, Afghanistan and Iran – has served as a crucial strategic platform for the Western powers, particularly the United States.

This paper examines the dynamics of relationship between Pakistan and the United States, particularly in the context of US economic aid to Pakistan between 2001 and 2010. Delving into US economic aid programs in Pakistan, the paper particularly focuses on democracy and governance (DG) programs so as to explicate the implications of such programs on democratization in Pakistan.

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From Social Protest to 'New Politics'?
The Paradox of 'Public Will Formation' in Representative Democracy

The constitutive foundation of representative democracy is the sovereignty of the people and its collective will formation: in party democracies, the people rule by their representatives. But do their representatives really rule? Do elected institutions and bodies call the shots in policy making, decision taking and running everyday life of their citizens? Both external and internal factors challenge the assumption that politicians, let alone 'the people' rule: the globalized markets, the interconnected knowledge society and the rise of unelected international bodies pose an external challenge; the declining trust of the people in their governments, parliaments and especially parties, together with declining turnouts, the crisis of parties and the move towards consumer society on the one hand and civil society pose another. This paper analyzes the summer of discontent in 2011 Israel from its inception of the largest protest wave in Israel on economic issues ever to the 2013 elections as a case in point through which to ponder about 'new politics' and the rational of the representationalism of democracies in post-parties age.

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African International Relations and the English School: Possible Engagements and Future Directions

This paper makes a case for an English School engagement with the study of international politics on the African continent through the concept of regional international society. Like many mainstream theoretical approaches to international relations, the English School has virtually ignored the African region altogether. This is partly due to the English School's traditional focus on the global level of analysis, as well as an implicit great power bias that has resulted in a tendency to ignore small to middle powers that have little political influence or military clout. On the other side of the coin, Africanist scholars have also tended to be considerably wary of state-centric international relations theories like the English School. The failure of many African states to exercise adequate control over their territories, the prevalence of neo-patrimonial politics, and the significant power and authority wielded by many non-state actors on the continent have led many to conclude that international relations theories based on a Weberian concept of the state are inadequate in the study of African international politics.

This paper argues that this seemingly irreconcilable divide between the English School and the study of African international relations is illusory. A closer look at the English School's approaches towards onthology, its understanding of the nature of international relations, and the sources of its suspicion of methodology in the social sciences suggests that a state-centric English School is not incompatible with the study of Africa. Indeed, with a transposition of the concept of international society to the regional level, the English School could provide valuable resources to study both the inward- and the outward-looking aspects of regions and provide an in-depth understanding of African regional politics.

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Roma in Europe-
A Persecuted or a Protected Minority?

In Europe today there are ten to fifteen million Roma (Roma and Sinti), five to seven million of them are living in Central and Eastern Europe, in new European Member States, and between 70 and 95 percent of these Roma of working age being unemployed. Many of them are living far below subsistence level in abject poverty and have become the target of aggression and hatred. This is a ticking time bomb for the European Union and Europe!

Take a closer look at those countries (i.e. Czech, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria), you will see a shocking disconnect between rhetoric and reality. Countries that have formally agreed to protect and promote all their population`s rights are ignoring and often violating those of their Roma communities. There you will find a widespread Human Rights Abuse of Roma.

The Roma, one of Europe`s oldest minorities, have endured a long history of persecution, persistent discrimination and disadvantage. In 21st-century Europe –despite all the ground-breaking laws, moral standards, checks, measures and mechanisms in place to ensure human rights are respected, for which Europe is so often lauded, the Roma remain largely excluded from public life, in many ways they are not recognized as human beings.

The Western countries no longer wanted to have anything to do with Roma refugees from the East or - nowadays - with Roma EU citizens from Romania or Bulgaria. For example in summer of 2010, the Roma became the subject of intense and renewed press attention after the French president, Nicholas Sarkozy, deported about 9,000 Roma to Romania and Bulgaria, bulldozing the illegal camps in which they lived on the outskirts of French cities.

The result was that the European Parliament called for "concrete and forward-looking measures to improve the social integration of Roma" and to contribute "to improving the situation of Roma". This was the start for the great national EU Roma Inclusion Strategy, concerning all 27 European Union Member States.

My paper will on the one hand deal with and present an overview of these activities, on the other hand I will analyze the situation of "Roma refugees" (beggars, tent or homeless people) nowadays in EU countries.

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Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Process and the European Road towards East Asia

It is undeniable that East Asian economic miracles during 1960s-1990s has attracted the European counterpart in the region. Although the miracles were disrupted by the financial crisis since 1997, East Asian financial regionalism like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations/ ASEAN Plus Three (APT) has proved to be very successful cooperation which has become standard code of conduct in the regional arrangements. To date, the ascendency of the Pacific economies brought Europe, particularly the European Union (EU) and the European Commission as the external relations' representatives to significantly strategize its economic relations with East Asia. The EU in particular is also aware of an imminent influence of China, Japan and South Korea through the APT as well as the US's dominating transpacific agenda.

This paper's main purposes are 1) to consider the EU motives, especially the European Commission as a policy driver vis a vis member states in approaching East Asia; 2) to evaluate the ASEM process in the past 16 years, as well as the issues of compatibility and conflict that surround them. Following Singapore and France initiatives since 1994, the first ASEM Summit was held in Bangkok in March 1996 which marked the beginning of the ASEM process. This informal process of dialogue and cooperation brings together 27 EU member states, the European Commission, 2 non-EU countries (Norway and Switzerland), with 10 ASEAN member states, 10 Asian countries and the ASEAN Secretariat. Therefore, ASEM has a double architecture of comprising both inter-governmental and inter-regional co-operations. The ASEM dialogues have addressed wide-ranging issues from political, economic to cultural issues, with the broad objective of strengthening the relationship between two regions, in a spirit of mutual respect and equal partnership. The widening integration of expanding membership is by far speedy with nearly 50 members across two regions. However the commitments are quite shallow, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the size of a multilateral institution and the depth of its commitments.

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International Law, War and Human Rights: The Humanitarian Response

One of the most important issues in the international political and legal system comprises the interaction between human rights and humanitarian law. In particular, the separate treatment of such areas of law allows to delineate different contents and application procedures, while the joint consideration is not simple, in view of the reasons for which each of the two has been created. Humanitarian law is a set of rules of conduct limited to a political and legal situation pathological, and presumably temporary. Against this regulatory system, the international law of human rights is the establishment of a political and legal concept of man as endowed with certain inalienable rights that constitutes an obstacle to the arbitrary use of force by states in the international community. The aim of the paper is to identify the conflicts arising from the interaction between these regulatory systems, starting from the "exemption clauses", the circumstances in which occurs the suspension of fundamental rights of the individual in the face of an imminent public emergency. These circumstances are the basis of humanitarian law which serves as a guarantee transient. Feedback regulatory useful is Article 15 of the European Convention of Human Rights, concerning the exemption in case of emergencies. Moreover, it is necessary to analyze the containment of the war between the States, establishing whether humanitarian law is a possible exception to human rights, in view of armed conflict. The four Geneva Conventions provide measures for the suppression of international crimes such as torture and inhuman and degrading treatment or murder, proceeding on the basis of the principle of "universal jurisdiction". Therefore, a key objective is to determine whether humanitarian law generates a full-fledged "State of exception", on the basis of global warfare scenario, where there are situations of chronic emergency (Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan).

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Democracy v. Capitalism: An Inquiry into the Role of Government in the Economy

Our modern social contract is mired in conflict between two opposing ideological views and systems: one that believes the optimal path to prosperity requires minimalist government involvement and the other which believes that government should guarantee social and economic welfare for society. Ideologically based arguments on each side drive a further wedge between the "haves" and the "have-nots." The challenge of resolving these conflicting views is perhaps the most fundamental issue facing the world. The conflicts that have arisen in our societies in recent years—the backlash over globalization, the financial crisis, the European debt crisis, and many others—have parallels in history that led to global conflagration. The lack of a reasoned consensus on our governments' role in the economy, whether for matters of health and safety or in response to systemic risks, threatens to undermine legitimate expectations and aspirations of the people. This article takes on the challenge of devising an enlightened mode of inquiry into the role of government by developing a system model as a proxy for democracy based on the dynamic process of rule of law. Next, the article models how the real market economy operates by illustrating how deviations from the underlying assumptions regarding market efficiency mechanisms and market imperfections affect performance against the ideal. The interaction of these two complex systems creates the backdrop for characterizing the appropriate role of government. Pragmatic application of this approach might help craft the contours of a modern social contract without radically undermining the pillars of a free society. The aim of this effort is to mediate and mitigate what appear to be breaches in the social contract by providing an alternative framework for the public policy debate over decisions on the proper role of government. This framework highlights genuine opportunities for systemic improvement.

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Donation Decisions to Environmental Causes

Recent findings on pro-social behavior can help policy-makers and charity organizations engaged to reduce deforestation communicate the problem more effectively in order to raise awareness and money to fight this problem. However, it is not clear to what extent findings about pro-social behavior and donations can generalize to the environmental domain such as deforestation because of a few but important reasons. In addition, deforestation is a unique threat; its consequences are many and humans are only indirectly affected. The purpose of this study was to understand the effects of presentation formats (pictures about the negative effects of deforestation and numerical presentation formats), attitudes (perception and environmentalism), affect, and gender on people's decisions to donate to causes engaged to reduce deforestation. Results revealed that gender, perception, and negative affect predicted people's decision to donate while pictures and preconceived attitudes predicted donation amounts. While theses results suggest that donation decision and donation amount are driven by different variables, further analyses showed that perception and negative affect mediate the relationship between pictures, environmentalism, and numerical presentation format and the decision to donate while perception mediates the relationship between pictures and environmentalism and donation amounts. Thus, this study suggests that the processes and variables for both decision stages are similar. In addition, the results of this study showed that the problems created or exacerbated by deforestation invoked different intensities of negative affect among decision-makers such that the effects of deforestation on human displacement and endangered species was interpreted more negatively than the effect of deforestation on the loss of plants that could be used for medicinal research and climate change. Whether the affective differences between the former two variables and the latter two also correlate with increased donations and donations amounts remains to be seen.

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The Decision Making to Introduce Vocational Courses in Portuguese Secondary Public Schools

This text is a PHd thesis reflection about the decision making to generalize vocational courses in Portuguese public schools. In the context of a secondary education with many problems, it is important to understand the contribution of this policy for the reconfiguration of the educational system, to improve school performance and greater diversity of educational provision, responding to the expectations of different public schools and promoting equal opportunities. Despite the positive trend observed in the last decade, the lack of qualification of population is still recognized as the key obstacle to development of the country, especially when we compare the Portuguese position in the international arena. That is why policy makers decided to establish some education policies focusing especially in young people, based on an integrated and systematic logic of promotion of secondary education as minimum level, introducing compulsory education of 12 years for young people under 18.This extension accompanied by more difficulties of access to the labor market for young people bring new challenges to secondary education. The process of enlargement and diversification of secondary education was seen as an alternative to promote that objective. This paper aims to reflect the implementation of the vocational courses in public schools in an adverse context, i.e., in a secondary education strongly oriented towards higher education, and where the social perception of vocational courses was very negative. We also analyze the social and educational pupils's profiles who attend vocational courses in Portugal through official statistical data and some case studies.

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Territorial Economic Impacts of Climate Anomalies in Brazil

This paper evaluates the economy-wide impacts of climate variations from a regional perspective. We use an interregional CGE model integrated with a physical model for agriculture crops in order to assess the effects of climate variables in Brazil. Climate anomalies are estimated for 2005 and represent deviations from historic trends. The results of this paper suggest that the economic costs of climate anomalies can be significantly underestimated if only partial equilibrium effects (direct impact/damage) are accounted for. In a general equilibrium context, intersectoral and interregional linkages as well price effects seem to be important transmission channels of climate shocks.

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The Return of the Value Added Tax as an Own Resource to Finance the Budget of the European Union

In the at present discussed budget for the European Union (EU) for the upcoming seven year period, 2014-2020, the Union wants to introduce new own resources to finance the budget The two proposed European taxes are a Financial Transaction Tax and a EU Value Added Tax (VAT). For the last, on every sales slip, the consumer can see that a part of the VAT he pays, goes directly to Brussels. The FTT is now approved by 11 member states; the VAT is still open for discussion. In this paper we look at the policy and decision-making process in the European Union in view of the introduction of a EU VAT as a new own resource to finance a part of the budget of the Union. The question becomes why the at present existing VAT-based contribution of the Member States to finance a part of the EU budget is unsatisfactory for the Union and why a direct contribution of the citizens of the Union would be an improvement.

The paper starts with an overview of the financing of the EU and the role of the existing VAT contribution, in the past and present, as an own resource for the Union. Next the proposal of the European Commission of a new VAT contribution of the citizens directly to the Union is given. In the third part, we do discuss the EU's policy proposal. The two main questions are: (1) is the proposal better then the old discarded VAT contribution and (2) is the proposal viable in view of the decision-making process of the Union in view of a change in its own resources. The paper ends with a conclusion in view of this new tax policy of the EU.

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Has the Euro Harmed the Greek Economy?

Beginning in 1992, Greece's economy was at least partially managed consistent with future European Union (EU) membership. Greece joined the EU on 1 January 2001, adopting the Euro at a conversion rate of 340.75 drachmas per Euro.

For 1995-2000, Greece had 3.2% average GDP growth, 5.5% consumer inflation, 10.5% unemployment rate, and a government deficit of 4.5% of GDP. After 11+ years of EU membership, Greece's 2012 GDP growth rate is ⬜6.4%, its consumer inflation rate is 1.0%, its unemployment rate is 25.4%, and its government deficit is 7.6% of GDP. Some economists suggest that Greece, as did Argentina, should default on its debt.

This paper reviews two competing theories for Greece's economic decline: (1) Greece was disadvantaged by EU membership, by switching to the Euro, and by subsequent austerity measures; or (2) Greece accumulated excessive debt, creating an economic bubble.

Was Greece harmed by adopting the Euro and by EU membership? Was the initial drachma/euro exchange rate fairly based on economic fundamentals, or was it a politically determined rate that harmed the economy?

I examine these questions by defining the conditional exchange rate for the drachma as the rate that would have prevailed if Greece had not adopted the Euro. Under a drachma regime, I assume that Greek policymakers would have attempted to keep an investment-grade credit rating. I account for economic adjustment, and calculate values of the following Greek economic variables for 1990-2012: the conditional exchange rate of the drachma, the debt/GDP ratio, the growth rate of real GDP, prevailing interest rates, and other relevant macroeconomic variables.

I discuss my results and offer some policy suggestions. Finally, I consider the possibility of a Greek default and compare the situation in Greece to the pre-2001 Argentine economic situation.

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Household Consumption and CO2 Emissions in Brazil

In the recent period there is an increase in the household income in Brazil. There is a positive impact upon consumption and welfare. On the other hand is important to verify the impact upon emissions derived from household consumption. The literature presents two approaches to analyze emissions. They are: account CO_2 emissions based on the production accounting and on the consumer accounting. According to the consumer principle the consumer is responsible for CO_2 emissions from the production of energy, goods and services. In this case, the CO_2 emissions are related to final use of goods and services even if they are imported from other countries. In order to reach the main aim of this paper we will use an input-output approach. We build an input-output matrix calibrated for 2005 for the Brazilian economy considering 18 production sectors. At final demand vector we open the household consumption into 7 income categories. We closed the input-output model for household. This enables us to better understand the impact of each class of consumption upon the CO_2 emissions. More specifically we use the Miyazawa approach to capture the inter-relational idea of multipliers.

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Institutions and Social Policy:
The Case of the Child Support Grant in South Africa

Social assistance in the form of Cash Transfer Programmes (CTPs) have become popular poverty reduction instruments in developing countries. Despite their widespread implementation, analyses about the effects of distinct institutional configurations upon the development and characteristic features of these programmes are lacking. This paper discusses the case of the South African Child Support Grant (CSG) by illustrating the role played by institutions both in shaping the preferences underlying the policymaking process and the ways in which these preferences interacted with distinct institutional configurations. The process closely reflects the manner in which historical institutional developments set certain parameters and defined available options to induce preference formation, while a rational choice approach offers a powerful interpretation of the interactions between preferences and the available strategic alternatives to shape a particular social policy outcome. The distinct institutional legacy of social assistance programmes previously implemented by the apartheid government, the new constitutional-legislative context created by the 1996 Constitution and the fiscal implications of the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme for social welfare spending priorities are analysed according to historical institutionalist principles to illustrate their impact upon the formation of distinct preferences. This is enriched through a discussion of the subsequent interactions between decision-makers' resulting preferences and the institutional setting through the prism of rational choice institutionalism. Integration of these approaches is achieved through the application of institutional layering. The result is an innovative analysis offering new insights on the development of a social assistance policy which has become a key vehicle in the government's efforts to reduce poverty and inequality, while also making a theoretical contribution through the integration of the perspectives of historical and rational choice institutionalism.
Among the key theoretical insights produced is the importance of distinguishing between primary and secondary sets of preferences and recognizing that policy transformation is most likely to occur in areas

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which are perceived to be directly related to primary preferences. Secondary preferences, meanwhile, are shown to play important roles in fine-tuning policy decisions. The results of this paper therefore demonstrate how these approaches can be fruitfully incorporated to provide a nuanced interpretation of a field of social policy which remains undertheorised.

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Democratic Norms: Conflict Decision Making Following Regime Change in Pakistan's International Conflict Behavior 1947-2000

In this manuscript we ask question: are democratic normative influences important under regime changes for a nation's conflict behavior? The democratic peace literature has not adequately addressed how frequent regime changes are influenced by regime norms. To address this limitation we examine Pakistan in order to identify if and how democratic norms influences conflict behavior after regime changes. The rigid dichotomous classification of democratic or autocratic regimes often found in the literature does not allowed for the potential persistence of democratic norms. To examine the persistence of norms, we develop a regime classification scheme based on democratic norms and internal power sharing. This approach allows examining both the normative and institutional explanations of the democratic peace in order to gain leverage in understanding the normative consequences of democracy. We argue and demonstrate that normative influences extend beyond immediate regime changes by examining four forms of governance. Using Pakistan as a qualitative and quantitative case study, the authors examine hypotheses that incorporate norms into decisions of Pakistan to initiate conflict. The resulting analysis suggests that conflict behavior of Pakistan, particularly with India—the acknowledged dyadic outlier to the democratic peace—is influenced the persistence of democratic norms after regime change. Our results have important implications for foreign policy research as it suggests that periods of democracy can have lingering effects on a country's conflict behavior. Additionally, our contribution to the democratic peace research literature extends our understandings of democracy's normative implications.